553 852 The child then receives a new name. Later, he may adopt names that refer to notable incidents of his life.

852 904 In the Santa Catarina group, the perforation of the boys' lower lip at the age of 2 or 3 is marked by great celebrations. Women, holding gourd rattles, dance with warriors, who beat the ground with their spears. The children are intoxicated with beer, and shaken until half unconscious, when their ceremonial fathers pierce their lips with a sharp stick (Henry, 1941, pp. 195–197).

582 **Marriage.**—According to Baldus' census (1937 c, p. 43), men are generally older than their wives, in some cases as much as 15 to 20 years; among 37 percent of the couples there was a difference of 10 years.

A man marries when 18 to 20 years of age. If his bride is not yet of age, he stays with her parents, waiting for the first signs of puberty. In case of child betrothal, the lad's parents have to provide for the girl's subsistence.

595 Polygyny is mentioned by all the early sources, but details vary. Some authors declare that it was an old man's privilege, others that it was restricted to the chiefs, good hunters, or famous warriors. There are also indications of sororal polygyny and of marriage simultaneously to a woman and her daughter (Teschauer, 1929, p. 350). In *Tupí-Guaraní* fashion, a girl often married her mother's brother.

[104] The *Caingang* of Palmas are, and claim always to have been monogamous.

Maniser (1930) states that though a man may not marry his cousin—he does not specify which—he usually takes her as a concubine until her own marriage. If pregnancy occurs meanwhile, the girl, as a rule, commits abortion. It often happened that a man grew fonder of his cousin than of his legal wife, and that he sometimes [578] resolutely opposed her marriage. The continuation of such relationship was bitterly resented by the legitimate wife.

For the *Aweikoma*, Henry infers that 60 percent of all marriages are monogamous, a fair proportion of the remainder being polyandrous.

585 A marriage ceremony witnessed by Maniser (1930, p. 776) took place during a drinking bout. Some old men seized the bridegroom and bride and pushed them toward each other in spite of the woman's resistance. Then they dragged them into the bridegroom's hut and left them there under a blanket. The following day the woman ran away, but was brought back by force.

591 Matrilocal residence, formerly the *Caingang* rule, is still frequent, though many couples set up their own households. Baldus (1937 c, p. 43) heard "that only lazy men lived in their father-in-law's house and that, should the father-in-law die, the husband would have to 'govern' his mother-in-law."

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"Chanrégn, listen to this. Chanrégn, listen to this." Singing is a favorite 837
way of showing off among the Kaingáng, as among ourselves. Sometime later after Chukembégn had had a fight with his wife he complained bitterly that Kanggúin had said to her: "'If you were my wife I would not treat you that way.' Whenever anyone has a fight with his wife Kanggúin always talks that way to her. He wants a wife, but no one will live with him!"

Nanmblá has two wives. Although his wives compete for him they are 594
not totally at a loss if they have to sleep without him. When I was at his brother-in-law's house one day while he was away, Nanmblá's wife Wainlúin was there watching with amused appreciation while Padnmbá cast a knife at a log. Nothing passed between them but their boisterous laughter, but when Padnmbá at last went away Wainlúin leaned against the housepost and gazed after him. When he had gone fifty paces down the path he turned around, flashed a smile, and disappeared down the slope. I never heard what happened between Wainlúin and Padnmbá after that, but I did hear of a quarrel that Nanmblá had with both his wives because they had relations with other men. One day I saw Vomblé caressing his son's mother-in-law. Another time Chukembégn told me that he and a few others were on the side of a hill when a little way's off they saw Padnmbá making love to Waikuklé's wife in the bushes. Soon she got up and ran off but Chukembégn and his companions called out laughingly "You don't have to run; we saw you." A complete account of all the sexual intrigues would fill a long but rather repetitious chapter.

The amorous history of every young man or woman is one of the favorite 839
themes of conversation among the young people. "First Koktá had an 521
affair with Yonggó, then with Kanggúin and then with me. Then she went around with Kanyahé but he left her and took up with Yu'ó." "I went around for a while with Koktá. . . ." "Oh, no you didn't. She used to go around with Kundégn but now she's going to change to Kanyahé." They enumerate, expand, correct without end and with unflagging interest.

I never heard them discuss these affairs in front of the principals' spouses, but Amendó's presence did not prevent them from joking about her unmarried daughter's relations with Padnmbá and Ndíli. "Layongndá [her daughter] is lying with Ndíli. She has gone off with her lover Ndíli to get nuts." Amendó sat listening and laughing while she nursed her little bastard of five months.

The Kaingáng preoccupation with sex expresses itself also in the belief 831
that death is often caused by intercourse with a supernatural monster or with a ghost. Both men and women may wake up in the morning sick and 761
bleeding or insane because they have spent the night with the supernatural, who has lured or forced them into intercourse. Unlike their neighbors in

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593 for one of his children." Kemblén was Tondúin's younger brother. "For
594 whom are you going to ask him for one?" "For [your son] Vomblé. He is full-grown, but he has no wife. I have been waiting for someone or other to send a daughter to him, but they never do; so I am going to send one of Kemblén's daughters to him." Then Vomblé's father said, "What shall I do? He is full-grown; yet no one sends a child to him. If you tell Kemblén he may be angry. But tell him." When Tondúin told Kemblén he sat in silence and at last said: "I shall never send her to some *kélé* who will beat her when I am dead and gone. Send her to some one of your affinal relatives who treats you well. Then he will give you food and ignore me, eating it alone. He will not give any to me." "That is what he said," remarked Vomblé, as he told it to me; "he was a fool." But in the teeth of Kemblén's anger his brother sent Kulí to Vomblé, and he married her. If a young couple do not decide to take matters into their own hands they may continue as lovers indefinitely. At last someone may take enough interest in their affairs to assume the task of go-between. Then in the face of opposition they cheerfully settle down—at least for a while—and continue their relations with the various parties as if the waters had never been troubled.

595 The culture has so little immediate stake in marriage that it exercises itself very little about it. There are no dramatic stories of girls who were betrothed to boys they did not like, of sudden passion interrupting a prearranged marriage, of flight by night and lonely wandering in the forest away from enraged parents or from potential in-laws who felt themselves cheated of the prize for which they had already paid dearly. There are no ramifying laws of incest for the violation of which the culture might administer a swift and violent punishment. The assumed personal equality of all young people, the dead level of economic conditions, the lack of accumulated property, and the fact that there are no class lines make all planning for a first marriage unnecessary. The relatives of the young man do not have to save up over a long period of time to pay for the bride, nor do they have to sit awake at night for fear that she might be suddenly raped, toppling at one blow the complicated structure of preparation and throwing the community into an uproar. Kaingáng marriage, except when it becomes the temporary concern of some go-betweens, is the immediate affair only of the principals. And even the go-between has no stake in the marriage. It is true that he (or she) automatically becomes the in-law of the young man, but this is not particularly important in a society of myriad relationships; and if the young man refuses the young woman who is "sent" to him the matter is forgotten.

595 Polygyny comes about in Kaingáng society in the same informal, almost accidental manner as monogamic unions. In Kaingáng ideology one of the

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675 primary causes of polygyny is that "There are no other men." Like Wanyekí,[10] the first husband of Amendó, a man may acquire two or more wives because there "are no other men around." But although this was true in the case of Wanyekí who lived far away from other people, it is necessary to remember that it is easier to give this as a blanket explanation than to bother about the numerous causes of a man's taking two or more wives. Among the young men on the reservation today there are several young bachelors; Nanmblá, however, has two wives.

587 595 Kuhúgn, old Thunder Storm, on the other hand, went around without a wife for years until his older brother died, leaving two wives, and Kuhúgn married them. But the Kaingáng do not impose or bestow on men the duty or the privilege of marrying their dead brothers' wives, nor do they compel widows to marry their brothers-in-law. Since the Kaingáng have no lien on spouses, since spouses are not conceived of as belonging to one group that has bought them or whose entire pattern of affinal exchanges is based on their permanent attachment to it, and since, furthermore, no group has given a man or woman in marriage in exchange for one received from a different group, there is no mechanism to compel a widow or widower to accept any particular new spouse. The ideology of mourning and the isolation of the widowed shows a complete lack of interest in these things.

765 A widowed person is dangerous, for the ghost of the departed clings to its last earthly vestiges in the hair of the surviving spouse that touched its own while living and under the nails where the dirt from food cooked or killed for the one now dead still lies. It follows its spouse about wherever it goes, for it is loath to give up its earthly attachments. It is a menace not only to the surviving spouse but to the whole community, for no one knows whom it may select as desirable to keep it company in the land of souls. So the widowed must be got out of camp for two weeks or two months, until the attachment of the ghost is enfeebled. Then, at the end of this time of fasting from the foods that he killed for his wife or that she cooked for her husband, the spouse is brought back with hair and nails cut off and is thus freed from the dirt that was so close a link to the ghost. Before the Kaingáng came to the reservation the return of the surviving spouse was the occasion for an elaborate ritual. With head covered with feathers as a disguise to fool the ghost, with wholesome herbs strewn in the path, to the noise of frantic singing and rattling to frighten the ghost away the widowed person came back and soon began his sex life anew. When the ghost of her husband had been frightened away contact with the woman was safe, for Kaingáng ghosts do not suffer from sexual jealousy after the first few weeks but oscillate eerily between the land of the dead and the dwellings of the living, harassed by a loneliness that urges them from time to time to

[10] He and Amendó died in about 1905.

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snatch away some human being to bear them company. If the ghost longs 765
to renew intercourse and return at night for this purpose, it is the old spouse who suffers, never the new partner. No woman remains a widow because men are afraid to marry her. The Kaingáng are forever daring the supernatural anyway.

The children belong to their parents, if one can speak of "belonging" in 593
a society in which children are not valued as property. What we so strongly idealize the Kaingáng actually feel, for to them children are like highly charged emotional batteries. They are valued for their potentialities as emotionally satisfying living things, like most other pets.[31] There is no idea expressed that when they grow up they will feed and protect their parents,[32] 887
for in nomadic days the latter knew only too well the whims that urged and the necessities that compelled their children to wander away from them. They themselves had felt the desire to go north or west or east to see the country or to attack the Brazilians, and they too had left their own parents to follow the camps of their wives' relatives. But when children are left fatherless it often devolves upon the father's family to take care of them, for they feel that responsibility, and it is in this way that it comes about that a widow often marries someone of her husband's kin. She goes where her [587]
children are, and it is there, in the midst of her husband's close kin, that she begins her sex life anew and often finds her new husband.

It is a similar factor of residence that brings it about that in the majority 595
of cases the co-spouses in a polygynous or polyandrous marriage are either siblings or first cousins. For in the closer relationship that springs up among the members of the families related by marriage the most obvious choice is a person whom one sees all the time and with whom, therefore, one delights to have an affair. Since this choice rests almost wholly with the widow and since it is conditioned by a large number of accidental factors, principally what men are available at the moment, her new husband is as likely to be older than her dead husband as younger. Even when he is past middle age a man is still a vigorous hunter, and even if he is an old man, he can depend on someone to help toward the support of his household. His wife may philander as she will, but she is still his wife, and if he [634]
catches or suspects her he may beat her or even put a club through her chest.

If we were to believe Yatí as quoted by Thunder Storm's son, we could say that Thunder Storm acquired his third wife because he was an outstanding figure. But I am inclined to doubt this. His third wife was

[31] The Kaingáng, like many South American peoples, keep pet monkeys, pigs, quail and hawks. Only the latter are used—for their feathers. Dogs are not pets; emotionally they belong rather in the category of unrelated human beings.

[32] It is true, nevertheless, that the parents could generally depend to some extent on their children's help, particularly before marriage.

Angneló, the sister of Kangnóáán. Kangnóáán had married Thunder Storm's sister and the two men had become almost inseparable. Though they are dead their relationship is perpetuated today in the relationship of their sons. But it was only after Kangnóáán had married Thunder Storm's sister that Thunder Storm married Angneló. It is not at all rare among the Kaingáng that when a man marries another man's sister, her brother marries her husband's sister. The constant companionship of the two men, thrown together by the first marriage, brings this about in an informal way. Chukembégn, who deserted his wife Tendó and three children, was "led away" from her by his brother-in-law's sister, a young woman whom he saw day after day in his sister's house.

There is still another way in which polygyny may come about and that is if a wife calls another woman to "work with her." The husband, ostensibly, has no hand in the matter at all. The woman who does this gains a helper and companion, one who will nurse her children when she is away, who will accompany her on fruit-gathering expeditions, who will relieve her of the heavy loads of meat she has to transport and who will care for her when she is ill. At the same time, however, she assumes in herself an ability to share which experience may prove to be non-existent. But the Kaingáng tell me, the first wife may become so jealous of the second that her continual anger at last drives the second wife out, even after she has borne as many as two children. First wives never leave in such a situation. Thus it comes about that a second wife in a polygynous marriage shifts about a good deal. If she is heckled by the first wife she begins to look more seriously on her lovers, and when she slips out of one marriage she slips as easily into another.

Polygyny is not always an entirely pleasant experience for a man, for although it is good to have a second wife during the several months after childbirth when intercourse with the mother is stopped, and two wives lighten each other's and their husband's burdens and bring in more food, a man must put up with their quarreling between themselves and the insults of either one who feels herself slighted.

Every marriage system is organized around some system of ideas no matter how unformulated they may be. Our own culture continually balances the ideal of love against the desire for property. The ideas that serve as the basis for the contraction of marriage carry within them the criteria by which all individuals are judged. We value people insofar as they are lovable or rich and powerful. Our ideas of what we consider a desirable sex companion are pretty clearly formulated and furnish the subject of many a conversation. But the Kaingáng are not educated to an ideal of love, and they have not formulated success in life in terms of wealth or prestige. Even raiding the Brazilians has given them little property, and

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the little they have they do not keep for themselves, but distribute among their relatives. My greatest trouble with them was that they could never understand "what you want with all that stuff" that I kept for trading, nor with the wood I accumulated against the rainy season. And they have carried the same attitudes into their marital relations.

Several wives are not a mark of prestige but the result of special events. Love as the nucleus of sexual relations implies loyalty in our culture, for loyalty is an essential part of love. Even where marriage lacks the essence but preserves the ideal it may still have a certain amount of loyalty left in it if other factors such as security and power make loyalty expedient, and early education has conditioned spouses to be loyal when they do not love. But the Kaingáng have never been educated to sexual loyalty, their *ethos* is not built on the twin columns of wealth and power, and no one starves among them as long as there is an ungnawed piece of tapir hide or a pine nut in camp. So in their informal, almost casual marriages they are not loyal to one another in the special sexual way in which we think of marriage loyalty—as an exclusive sex interest in one person. And because they are not fixated in their sexual interests and because there are no social forms and few economic considerations to stabilize marriage, it is extremely brittle until several children are born. Even then the stability that marriage achieves does not fix sexual interest.

The Kaingáng are a people with no sense of social form. As an artist with a fine feeling for form will communicate that sensitivity, that sense and realization of an "inner harmony," as one artist put it to me, to everything he does, a people with a feeling for or an interest in social form will do most of the things that are important to them in a highly stylized way.[18] If they are particularly interested in following lines of kinship or some other rules of organization almost everything will be done in accordance with their feelings of fitness as determined by these rules, and not a hunting party or a husking bee will be undertaken without its having been planned along the lines of this organization. If their interest runs to dancing and ceremonious display instead, they will manage to bring in dancing and ceremony on every occasion. But the Kaingáng have no interest in social forms of any kind. They have no pattern that will exclude one kind of relationship while permitting another. So their sexual relations show the same formlessness, excluding only parents and blood siblings and admitting every kind of marriage known to anthropology. The Kaingáng are not only monogamous and polygynous; but they were polyandrous too and they also established what I shall call "joint marriages" in which several men lived together with several women in mutual cohabitation. These last two types will be discussed in the following chapter.

[18] This refers, of course, to cultures which are more highly structuralized.

[P. 34 is blank]

through her marriage Hiã's family gained Vanhé as an ally in the quest for food. Even before marriage a girl's sexual interests are beneficial to her family, for her lovers come with presents of food, and they are welcome at her parents' fireside. The food a lover brings is not payment for favors he has received but a gift in expectation of favors still to come. Even after her marriage a woman's amorous intrigues are of considerable advantage to those around her—even to her own husband, for every time she attracts a man she has added a hunter to the band. Wherever his mistress is, there the lover stays, and unless her husband gets wind of the affair and flies into a rage the lover may very likely follow the camp almost indefinitely. His presence is welcome, of course, for another gun or bow and another knife and axe mean so much more meat and honey. Thus even adultery plays a constructive role in Kaingáng society, for it keeps within the band men who might otherwise go elsewhere in search of satisfaction, and it often culminated in polyandrous marriage, which has been one of the strongest integrating forces in Kaingáng society.

The story is told of Kuvén who was the lover of both Kanggí and her mother. Now as Kanggí's father grew old and it became difficult for him to get meat, he felt more and more the necessity of having someone to help him hunt for his large family. As long as Kuvén remained he could depend on him, but when it seemed that the young man was becoming interested in Yemfi, a woman who was no relative of his and whom, therefore, Kuvén might follow far away to her relatives, Kanggí's father said to his wife and daughter: "Call Kuvén; if he marries Yemfi he will leave me and go away. Let him get food for your children when I die. If he marries another woman he will throw your children away." So Kanggí's mother called Kuvén and said to her daughter: "Marry him. I am going to live with you and him." So Kuvén married both mother and daughter, and when Kanggí's father died Kuvén took care of the latter's children.

The Kaingáng have no system of clans or moieties[1] to impose social obligations on them. Their kinship system is not the crystallization of inescapable obligations that is found in many other primitive societies but principally a device for grouping people in large age classes. Their mode of life also made the maintenance of complex systems of obligations and loyalties extremely difficult, for they wandered from place to place in little groups of two to twenty adults. Even the biological family had little permanence as a cooperating unit, for children wandered away from their parents when they grew up and brothers separated to go with their in-laws or to travel with childhood playmates and hunting companions in search of adventure. Under the influence of the conflicting obligations of blood and marriage the composition of the small group of adults was forever changing. The dependence of the men on one another, and even their fundamental reali-

[1] See Appendix II, p. 173.

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ration of this dependence, is not enough to stabilize any relationship among them even today, for there are any number of men with whom an individual may join forces, and if he hunts with his father today he may go away with his wife's father tomorrow and with his sister's husband the day after. Nothing compels him to fix his allegiance.

Nevertheless the Kaingáng had achieved a certain degree of social cohesion, and one of the ways in which they managed it was by building permanent cooperating units around their sex interests. It is in this way that social integration, although explicitly expressed in terms of the economically important men, often actually revolved about the women. As in the case of Kanggí and her mother, the women often became the nuclei of polyandrous and also of joint marriages, which often changed their male composition frequently. Thus by her mere existence the woman held together a complex household, which disintegrated when she died. A general lack of formal rules for marriage permitted the easy building up of large *ménages* by gradual additions of men and women. A household might begin with either a monogamous or a polygynous marriage; as time passed another man might be added to the household and become the co-husband; perhaps another wife was added and then another man. Through the years the family would expand and contract or simply change as the wives or husbands died or were killed off in feuds or the raids of the bugreiros.

The Indians told me of the marriages of Wanyekí.[2] Together with his wife Tendó, his sister and his hunting companion Chu, he wandered about, far away from other members of the tribe. This was nothing unusual for the Kaingáng, who sometimes did not see one another for years. When Chu's wife died Wanyekí's wife cooked and made a sleeping-place for him, simply, as the Kaingáng put it, "because he had no wife," and he became her co-husband. So Chu was saved for Wanyekí and his little isolated band and did not wander away in search of another wife. But as time passed Tendó, the wife, died, and Wanyekí and Chu were left alone. Until his nieces, his sister's daughters, grew to adolescence, Wanyekí had no wife. Then one day his sister said to him: "Wanyekí, live with them. There are no other women. They are in the same position as you—there are no men. So go around with them. There is no one else for you to marry. So marry them." Chu had died in the meanwhile, so Wanyekí, who already had had two wives married these three girls, who were much younger than he. This kind of relationship is not difficult for a Kaingáng girl, for far from wishing to retain her hold on the recreations of her childhood she looks forward to the sexual experiences that she has been urged to seek ever since she was a baby in arms.

Wanyekí lived alone with his three wives, his sister's daughters, until

[2] See footnote p. 30.

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they each bore him a child. Then he joined forces with two men whom he had left long ago, and he once more became monogamous, for two of his wives left him to live with these men. Wanyekí did not object. Even though his wives took their sons with them the children remained attached to their father and were frequently in his camp. If Wanyekí had objected there would have been two courses open to him. He could have beaten his wives, in which case they would have left him anyway, or he could have quarreled with the men. In the latter case he would have lost the companionship of the angry men, who would certainly have left him. Actually Wanyekí lived for many years on friendly terms with them, and they continued to make love to his remaining wife Amendó even though they now had wives of their own.

Soon after this Wanyekí was joined by two other men, who became the co-husbands of Amendó, and when Wanyekí's son Véye by his first and now long-dead wife grew to manhood he too shared his father's wife. So father and son, instead of glowering at each other across the fire out of their jealous desire for the same woman, cohabited with her in peace, strengthening the precarious bonds of Kaingáng society. The solution would not be the same in every case, for in another such household Kangndáán beat his son and drove him out for daring to copulate with his second wife. But Wanyekí and Véye shot game for each other and for their robust wife while she bore her four husbands nine lusty children and one weakling who died.

Judging from her numerous love affairs it could never be said that Amendó was unable to cope with the sexual demands of her husbands, but, as the Kaingáng put it, she had a great deal of work to do cooking and fetching water for four hungry men and her children; so she called Nggevén, one of her husbands' nieces, to be her co-wife. Amendó had nothing to fear from the younger woman, for they had four husbands to share between them and Amendó was active in seeking enjoyment outside the bonds of matrimony. So without jealousy or disruption Nggevén moved into this household. She did not have the ignominious position[1] of the second wife that is so common in primitive societies, nor did Amendó ever attempt to drive her out. This closely-knit cooperating unit held together through the years until Nggevén had borne the four husbands ten children. Then Wanyekí and one of his co-husbands died. But although two of the oldest members of the household were dead, although Wanyekí, the husband of Amendó's youth, was dead, the remaining husbands stayed by her and hunted for her. But soon only Véye was left, for the Brazilians killed

[1] The position of the first wife is superior to that of the second only in one respect: in a case of jealous conflict the first wife never leaves.

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Amendó and the other husbands and Nggevén married her young son-in-law and went away.

In relationships like these the violent hostility between an aging father and his son, both striving for the same woman, is resolved through the son's marriage to his step-mother. This has happened over and over again in Kaingáng society, and it is one of the few instances in which a people have been able to settle this ancient conflict peaceably. Instead of being violently possessive like the typical male in our society and like not a few in his own, Wanyekí was willing to share his wives. First he relinquished two of them and then he permitted his son and other men to come and share his remaining wife. This brought peace and security not only to him but also to the men who escaped conflict through his behavior, to the innumerable sympathizers who would have taken sides in the concomitant quarreling, and to the women who escaped the beatings that an angry husband might have given them. Wanyekí possessed a foresight that Yuvén[4] lacked. Yuvén, young, jealous and possessive, drove out his two co-husbands, but as he grew older and his family multiplied he was compelled to accept Kuvén as the husband of both his wife and daughter, for only in that way did he feel that his wife and children would be adequately cared for.

Yakwí is another violent possessive man who got into difficulties because he was unwilling to share his wife. Although he is about sixty years old he is as vigorous as any young man. His powerful muscles bulge beneath his skin and he is tireless in the hunt. No one is faster than he at clearing land for planting. For a nomad, unused to the ways of white civilization, he is an unusually energetic farmer. His violent rages were a trial to me. His wife was not at all like him. She was given to thieving, it is true, but my battles with her were always more or less genial. She was a persistent but gentle thief. She must have been about fifty years old, wonderfully well preserved, and her skin was a beautiful golden tan. There was no doubt that Anggló wanted a kind of love-making that her husband could not give her. So she turned to her son-in-law Kanyahé. Years before she and Yakwí had had a daughter, an only child, who had married Kanyahé but died a few years before I came to the reservation. Kanyahé was about thirty years old. He too was powerfully built, and for energy in the hunt he could match Yakwí. He kept a large household supplied with meat when no one else had any. His sexuality was aggressive and open, and he carried on his affairs almost under the noses of the husbands.

His affair with Anggló made the older man desperate. When Anggló came home he fought with her, not daring to mention the subject of the

[4] Kanggí's father. See p. 36.

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Later in the day Kanyahé took it into his head to make fun of me. 337
"You're always walking around making love," he shouted. "No I'm not," I yelled back. We had a large audience. "You make love everywhere," Kanyahé bellowed; "everybody sees you!" "You lie, you're the one who makes love." "You bet I do," he roared. This was my cue to see how far he was willing to walk on thin ice, and I retaliated: "No one has to see you. It is the talk of everyone, how much you walk about taking women." This was too much even for Kanyahé. He dropped the subject immediately without another word and turned to weeding. Through it all Yakwá stood, his powerful hands on the handle of his scythe, a broad smile on his face, completely enjoying the show.

This affair throws into bold relief the fate that awaits the principals in a conflict whose solution is prevented by a possessive husband. The jealous husband pursues his wife to the point where his behavior causes much smiling behind polite hands. His endless quarrels with her culminate in blows and often in dissolution of the marriage. Yakwá's threat to kill Kanyahé would never have been carried out because murder in Kaingáng [634]
society must have a background of vendetta,[5] but it illustrates well the complete break between the two men.

Another drama enacted by a mother and a son-in-law, illustrates the 595 606
ever-ripening character of this relationship. Just as they have resolved the struggle between a man and his son for the same woman through the son's marriage to his stepmother, the Kaingáng have arrested the conflict between a woman and her daughter for the same man by the man's marrying his mother-in-law too.[6] Instead of surrounding the mother-in-law with disrupting taboos that send the son-in-law flying when he hears her coming or keeping him cooling his heels outside as long as his mother-in-law, whose face he may not see, is in the house, the Kaingáng have developed the relationship between a man and his mother-in-law to the point where he sometimes marries her and becomes the second father of her children. Such was the relationship between Kuvén and Kanngá's mother and between the captive Nyepá and his mother-in-law, Kuichó. Yakwá has no one to take care of him if his wife Anggló chooses to remain at the post while he goes hunting with me and the Indians. But if his widowed mother-in-law, whose household he never left as long as she was alive, went along, his food was cooked when he came back after a long day's range in the forest just as if she had been his wife and there were always fresh fern leaves for him to stretch his body on. At night he slept beside the old woman or at her feet across the campfire. When he moved camp it was she who carried his few belongings, and when she needed a basket it was

[5] See pp. 52, 60.
[6] I have no instances of a man's marrying his daughter-in-law.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
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she who made it for her. When her family gathered around her it was she who gave him food. An Indian told me that when the old woman died[7] he did not say to her, as the Kaingáng usually say to the dead, "Leave me and go away," so that her soul would not take him along, but instead: "Do not leave me. When I am sick I shall ask your protection."

The relationship between co-husbands in polyandrous and joint marriage was one of the strongest in the society. Children might leave their parents, brothers might separate to follow their affinal relatives, brothers-in-law and parents and their sons-in-law might rarely see one another or might interrupt long-standing relationships casually, but co-husbands who had grown to maturity did not part. The strongest loyalties in such marriages were not between the husbands and their wife or wives but among the men. However strongly the men and women may be linked together in a common household the charm of casual intrigues is too great for them to forego. Although Amendó had four husbands she still had time for swift rendezvous in the forest, and many children called Wanyekí and his co-husbands *yágn*[8] "because he had intercourse with their mother."

The motive that lead a man to accept a co-husband was always the same, his own and his family's security. The more independent and the more possessive avoided it as long as they could. Many could avoid it all their lives, but others, driven by old age and the lack of young sons to take care of them or forced by a crippling injury, at last accepted co-husbands. And it was generally only because there were no marriageable women around that a man consented to become a co-husband. Young co-husbands separated as soon as a likely young woman appeared on the scene and that was why polyandry among young men was so unstable. Older men preferred the comfortable security of joint households, so that even if they encountered a marriageable woman they preferred to absorb her into a joint household rather than venture the precarious independence of a separate *ménage*. When one of my informants, Klendó, was a young man he asked his half-brother to come and live with him and his wife, but after a while the half-brother, having acquired a wife of his own, established his own household. The young men shifted around, but when they had matured in polyandry and had learned the value of such a relationship they did not change. A nice realization of their mutual dependence prompted father and son to live peacefully together with the same wife, and impelled a man to share his wife with his brother or even with a distant relative. Father-in-law and son-in-law also became co-husbands, forming a firm cooperating unit which guaranteed food to the older man and his wife and children and which gave the younger man an additional claim on his wife's relatives.

[7] She died during the grippe epidemic in 1933.

[8] The term a person uses for his father and all men very much older than he.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
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Their rigorous environment and lack of a close social structure that would automatically provide the aging hunter with helpers or the widow who has children with a husband make the problem of food supply terribly pressing for these people. It was for this reason that Ketédn made my next-door neighbor, Kuthúgn, a member of his household when the latter was still a boy. "When I am dead," said Ketédn, "you will take care of my wife and children." Events showed that Ketédn had acted with foresight—perhaps because of his supernatural power—for he was killed by the Brazilians, and now Kuthúgn was living next door to me with Ketédn's wife who was so much older than he.

A widow who is no longer young has a hard time of it with her small children. Dependent on relatives, she wanders from household to household. At night she sleeps alone with her little child. There is no one to take care of her. Her brother or cousin or brother-in-law give her food when they have it. They share what they have as a matter of course, but when there is little food their children come first and the widow may get only short rations. Kundídn is such a widow. One day she eats at her cousin's house, the next at her brother's, the next at the house of another cousin. When she is sick her cousin Anggló sometimes comes to sit beside her, but if Anggló is away at some secret rendezvous with her lover, or off hunting with her brother, Kundídn often lies alone and miserable. None of the young men would marry a woman of forty with a goiter. But when she is well Kundídn is vigorous and aggressive. She works longer days in the fields than the younger women, she goes out frequently to look for honey, she is an aggressive and determined suitor and she had almost chopped off Véye's leg when the latter deliberately drowned her brother. Whenever I had to pass her house I made a wide circle because I knew that Kundídn would attempt to seduce me in her violent and jocular manner if she caught sight of me. At last she offered me her wild, thin little daughter, Tombá, aged about eleven. "Take her and bring her up," she said. "When she is grown, marry her, and she will keep house for you."

These forms of marriage and the custom of occasional adoption with an eye to the consummation of a future sex relationship are only crystallizations from an almost amorphous social life. Nevertheless, however imperfectly defined, informal, and even casual their sexual arrangements may be, the Kaingáng have made them the center of some kind of relationship that has a permanent value for this society. The casual relationships among young people in our own society that are the outgrowth of passion often serve no other function than to satisfy an overwhelming desire for sexual experience and companionship. Once the couple has drifted apart they have no claims on each other. They are strangers and can never depend on one another for anything. But among the Kaingáng, who literally have

285 Chusquea pinifolia--Translator] strips which vary only in their width
415 and thickness.

The larger waxed baskets are used as a sort of pail to convey water and honey. The small baskets, also waterproof, are used as vessels--mugs of a sort--for water and for mong-ma on festive occasions.

286 The Botocudo do not plait fans or mats. But they do weave a
482 strap, eight centimeters in width, tied at the ends with a special slipping knot which permits its shortening or lengthening. These straps are woven, sometimes in two colors, of embira fiber. The women use
[554] them placed against the forehead, or against the top of the head, to carry children. The Botocudo carry everything in this fashion, with the weight steadied against the head and resting along the back.

412 These Indians use large tongs made of taquarucu [a large bamboo, Guadua superba--Translator] or hard wood. These pincers are used to remove food from the fire and from boiling pots. They are called ko-pama, "wooden hand."

619 The Botocudo make up a single tribe composed of various families with equal rights.

622 Power rests with a single chief, pahi, who steers the destinies of the tribe and usually rules on all its actions.

The chief wields this power as long as his worth as a brave and fearless warrior is recognized by all. In his absence the most experienced and courageous warriors take over and exert authority upon the other members of the tribe.

When elderly the chief transfers his command to a worthy warrior, without losing his ascendancy over the tribe. He becomes its respected and venerated counselor.

595 The Botocudo are polygamous. According to his worth, the warrior usually marries two or three women; the chiefs always take more than three wives. [126]

304 On reaching adulthood the youths are tattooed on the arm with a warrior's badge, which consists of two dots laid horizontally. As they prove their manly qualities they are granted another two marks,
[582] tattoed similarly underneath the first. Once thus admitted among the warriors, they are considered ready to marry.

585 As a general rule, the young warrior builds himself a hut where he takes the girl of his choice, who lives henceforth as his wife. Sometimes, when the girl's family is small, he goes to live with his wife in her parents' hut. Incest does not occur among them, for [835] marriage is forbidden among close relatives. It is the custom of the tribe to respect marriage; adultery is unamously condemned and rarely occurs.

595 The warrior chooses his second wife with no more formality than the first. Both women enjoy the same rights. The additional wives are often sisters of the first one.

551 Male children are given the name of an outstanding ancestor, to which is added as a surname that of their father and of his lineage. The name of female children is chosen freely by the mother, whose own name is added as surname along with the name of her lineage.

This explains the great length of their names, such as for instance: Korikrã̃-Lãksi-Layondẽsi, Vaikõidn-Ungrõsima-Põa-Tupi-Vaimusima.

764 Dead adults, men as well as women, are cremated in large fires built with selected woods. Pubescent children of both sexes are granted the same procedure, while young children are buried.

A warrior's weapons and other personal implements are burned along with his body. The ashes are gathered the following day and placed in a round pit, previously lined with tree bark and leaves, which is then filled with earth, covered with fragments of wood, and surmounted with a shelter.

765 The death of a chief or outstanding warrior is lamented by the whole tribe; his exploits are sung in a sort of litany for several days. Then the women recount in similar chants the virtues of the dead man in the domestic life of the tribe.

It is to be noted that on such occasions the Botocudo are seized by a profound sadness. Absorbed in their great sorrow, they become sullen and indifferent to everything and observe for several days a rigorous fast.

476 The social rule of the Botocudo is mutual aid, for which they were naturally trained by the insecure nomadic existence which has always been their lot.